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ABSTRACT

The education of Taiwan Aborigines and U.S. American Indians is compared using eight criteria of educational policy analysis. The criteria of equity is addressed in Taiwan through policies that promote the educational quality of Aboriginal elementary and junior high schools, expand higher educational opportunities for Taiwan Aborigines, universalize Aboriginal preschool education, and develop continuous education and family education in Aboriginal communities. U.S. policies address equity through reducing poverty and substance abuse among American Indians and recognizing the government's obligation to assist in the education of Native Americans. Educational efficiency in Taiwan is being achieved by building up the educational systems of Taiwan Aborigines. In the United States, efficiency is achieved through construction and maintenance of schools and increasing high school completion and postsecondary attendance rates. Educational choice is pursued by building up the educational systems of Aborigines in Taiwan and through tribally controlled education in the United States. Educational excellence is addressed in Taiwan by fostering the special talents of Aborigines, and in the United States by improving reading, mathematics, and science education; creating safe educational environments; and expanding educational technology. In both countries, localization is achieved through emphasis on indigenous culture and language. Globalization is achieved by encouraging Taiwan Aboriginal students to go abroad for doctoral degrees, and in America through deculturalization as Indian students choose to join the dominant group. New Left influences include cultural education and bilingualism, while New Right influences are seen in tribal economic development and the emphasis on traditional values and morals. (Contains 57 references.) (TD)

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Paper presented at the 2002 CIES annual meeting
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Marginality and Aboriginal Educational Policy Analysis in the United States and Taiwan

By Sheng Yao Cheng and W. James Jacob

ABSTRACT: Social justice is one of the leading issues in contemporary education. How to insure equality of educational opportunities has become increasingly an important mission of educators and sociologists. From 1960 to the present, multicultural education—which includes race, class, and gender—has played a powerful role in the discussion of social justice. In this research, we focus on race to understand and compare the aboriginal education in the United States and Taiwan. The indigenous populations of the United States (commonly known as American Indians) and Taiwan (known as Taiwan Aborigines) seem to be comparable in several aspects including their respective histories, economic structures, cultures, and present predicaments. This research outlines similarities and differences by providing a taxonomy of education policy analysis between these two indigenous peoples. Finally, we offer potential solutions and recommendations for improving the current educational and social problems of the American Indians and Taiwan Aborigines.

KEYWORDS: Aboriginal education, American Indians, Taiwan Aborigines, Educational Policy Analysis Model, United States, Taiwan

INTRODUCTION

From the surfacing of the multicultural movement in the 1960s, and the establishment of a new sociology of education in the 1970s, consensus theory diminished in its prominent role in leading the intellectual thought of education. On the contrary, critical theory, cultural studies, and critical pedagogy have emerged to occupy the "public sphere" of education. The concepts of ideology, exploitation, and class struggle continue to gain precedence among educators and sociologists. The discussion between social justice, marginality, and equity of educational opportunities has become the leading issues in the realm of educational reform.

Minority issues have played a crucial role in this trend of thought. In the 2000 census, the population of American Indians makes up less than one percent of the total population of over 281 million people in the United States. In Taiwan, the population of Taiwan Aborigines is roughly 400,000 (about two percentage of the total population). American Indians and Taiwan Aborigines share many similar characteristics not only in population percentages, but also in their historical, social, and cultural backgrounds. In this study, we focus on the key factors of educational policies and

explore the various dynamics associated with aboriginal education. First, we discuss the background and respective contexts of Taiwan Aborigines and American Indians. Next, we analyze the latent influences of educational reform by the Educational Policy Analysis Model, consisting of four internal factors (equity, excellence, choice, and efficiency) and four external factors (localization, globalization, New-Left, and New-Right). Finally, we conclude with recommendations to assist policy makers and educators in providing solutions to the drawbacks of aboriginal education.

BACKGROUND ON NATIVE AMERICAN INDIANS

With over 500 distinct tribes, Native Americans make up over half of the spoken languages and cultures in the United States (Hodgkinson, 1992). Although originally mislabeled as "Indians" by Christopher Columbus in 1492, the name has remained and has since come to refer to virtually all indigenous peoples of North and South America (Tirado, 2002). For the purpose of this paper, we refer only to the marginalized Indians residing within the United States and use the term American Indians.[1] In the Census 2000, the 2,475,956 Native Americans made up less than one percent of the total population of over 281 million people in the United States (Grieco & Cassidy, 2001).[2]

1. Historical Background

Many theories exist regarding the origin of the American Indians. One such theory suggests that the first people to inhabit the Americas probably migrated from Siberia to Alaska and thence into North and South America. Another theory portrays a group of people who traversed the great seas and migrated to South America from Asia.

European explorers, traders, and colonizers brought in new diseases that the Native American populations had never encountered. According to Alfred W. Crosby (1986) disease took a heavy toll on American Indian civilizations, eliminating many of them and opening their lands for European settlement.

> There once existed as many languages and dialects among American Indians as there did tribes. Many of these native languages have disappeared over the past two hundred

years, and currently the 210 existing languages are for the most part endangered (Peacock & Day, 1999).

Successful language preservation must integrate the school curriculum with some sort of language learning, thus enabling the native tongues to remain and flourish perpetually. Neglecting to use indigenous languages in education and everyday life, such as cultural ceremonies and tribal business, will only result in their eventual obliteration (Demmert, 1994; Peacock & Day, 1999).

2. Social Background

Over half of the Native Americans in 2000 lived in the following seven states: California (338,716), Oklahoma (272,602), Arizona (256,532), New Mexico (172,809), Texas (125,111), Alaska (97,801), and Washington (94,306) (Bureau, 2000). Table I lists the 25 most populous tribes in the United States today, with the top seven tribes comprising over half of the overall population of American Indians.

Table I. Top 25 American Indian Tribes for the United States: Based on the 1990 Census

Tribe	Number	Percent
Cherokee	369,035	19.0
Navajo	225,298	11.6
Sioux	107,321	5.5
Chippewa	105,988	5.5
Choctaw	86,231	4.5
Pueblo	55,330	2.9
Apache	53,330	2.8
Iroquois	52,557	2.7
Lumbee	50,888	2.6
Creek	45,872	2.4
Blackfoot	37,992	2.0
Canadian and Latin American	27,179	1.4
Chickasaw	21,522	1.1
Tohono O'Odham	16,876	0.9
Potawatomi	16,719	0.9
Seminole	15,564	0.8
Pima	15,074	0.8
Tlingit	14,417	0.7
Alaskan Athabaskans	14,198	0.7
Cheyenne	11,809	0.6
Comanche	11,437	0.6
Paiute	11,369	0.6
Osage	10,430	0.5
Puget Sound Salish	10,384	0.5
Yaqui	9,838	0.5

Source: Racial Statistics Branch, Population Division (Bureau, 1995).

Harold Hodgkinson (1992) notes that roughly one third of Native Americans lived on reservations or Trust Lands in the 1990s. In order to maintain middle class status in the United States, Native Americans were forced to move off of their native lands, primarily into urban centers where jobs are in abundance. One way to augment this trend is to increase the number of new businesses on reservations. Where many minorities, such as Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics, primarily live in urban areas, American Indians predominantly live in rural areas or suburbs to metropolitan centers (Spring, 2000a, p. 113).

3. Political Background

Since the time Europeans first colonized the Americas, the American Indians have been displaced from their native lands and homes that have been theirs for centuries. This form of colonization was typical of most places European settlers eventually claimed for their expanding empires. Even after independence from

England, the United States remained a strong advocate of expansionism, and continued to force the indigenes out of their native lands and further into the frontier territories. For the past several hundred years, the American Indians have been dominated and exploited by their European colonizers. This colonization process included four elements: the establishment of the colonizing group in the midst of the American Indians; the colonizing power introducing policies and laws which ultimately neglect or destroy indigenous values and culture; the manipulation and management of the colonized people by the colonizers; and the exploitation and oppression of the colonized people (Oliver, 1996, p. 3).

It is ironic that a nation which boasts the history of democracy and freedom would treat a people as the U.S. government treated American Indians. The government practice of genocide and ethnocide against American Indians in the nineteenth century was a shear mockery of universal human rights and respecting the cultures and languages of the indigenous people of the United States (Spring, 2000b). The United States government policy of isolating Native Americans on reservations changed to one of assimilation in the late nineteenth century, where they attempted to integrate the American Indians into the greater society through education and economic measures (Johnson & Woloch, 2002; Oliver, 1996).

4. Education Policy

The first attempts to assimilate American Indians through education came by way of sending their children to boarding schools. The purpose of the boarding schools was to immerse them in a new way of life, focusing on integrating the students into the capitalist way of life. No emphasis was given to traditional languages or customs, thus attempting to replace their old way of life with a new one. Boarding schools were a prominent part of American Indian education from the 1880s to the first two decades of the twentieth century. The boarding schools proved to be a dismal failure. According to Christopher Oliver, "the education that the Native Americans received did not positively promote their culture" (1996, p. 6). The overall result produced graduates who neither were assimilated into mainstream society nor were able to operate in their indigenous tribes as they were bereft of the opportunity to learn the customs and skills of their people. Thus, the boarding schools amplified rather than assuaged the differences between Native Americans and mainstream society in the United States.

Policy makers then attempted to place American Indians in public schools. But Indian children found that they had to compromise their values to survive in the American educational system (Oliver, 1996, p. 13).

Both the boarding and then public school policies operated under an ethnocentric notion that American Indians needed to adapt a superior European model of education, which essentially neglected indigenous knowledge and values. Susan D. Evans argues that this perspective is unfounded. She says that traditional Indian education revolved around character and skills development with a special emphasis on the child. Rather than the traditional European teacher-guided model of education, American Indians believed that every part of community life was responsible for the education of the Indian child (Evans, 2002).

With the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1969, Native Americans were allowed to attend mainstream schools. More recently, American Indians have been given the freedom to develop their own curriculum which may include the teaching of indigenous languages, values, and cultures (Oliver, 1996).

Several education policies regarding Native Americans were developed and implemented during the second half of the twentieth century. In the wake of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, Native Americans joined African Americans in protesting against government school systems and policies regarding education. Their argument was that government school "were destroying their cultures and languages, and that they were subject to segregation" (Spring, 2000a, p. 124). Native American interests were somewhat ameliorated in the early 1960s as the Kennedy administration advocated Indian participation in decision regarding federal policies.

In 1969 the U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare produced a report titled *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge.* A report which criticized past U.S. government educational policies regarding Native Americans, it claims that the focus of the government in the past has been on "forced assimilation" with the objective to rob Native Americans of their land. The report called for two essential changes regarding Native American education programs in the future. First, was for Native Americans to participate and control the Indian education programs. The second recommendation was that Native Americans should play an active and central role in federal and local schools.

Then, in 1972, the Indian Education Act was signed into law which provided financial assistance for public schools to meet the needs of Native American students. Two years later the Bureau of Indian Affairs established procedures for upholding student rights and due process. Native American students were able to make their own decisions regarding applicable issues.

These earlier initiatives paved way for the seminal Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. Essentially, this provided each Indian tribe the autonomy to establish its own education and health

programs, with an emphasis on maximum Indian participation. The Tribally Controlled Schools Act in 1988 built upon the Self-Determination and Education Act by providing Indian tribes financial assistance to run and operate their own schools. In 1998, President Bill Clinton issued an Executive Order for American Indian and Alaska Native Education that focused on educational excellence and retention. His order had six primary goals:

1. Improving reading and mathematics;
2. Increasing high school completion and postsecondary attendance rates;
3. Reducing poverty and substance abuse;
4. Creating strong, safe, and drug-free school environments;
5. Improving science education; and
6. Expanding educational technology (see Spring, 2000a, pp. 124-26).

Reforming education was the chief pillar of President George W. Bush's presidential campaign and this commitment has carried over into the recent *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*, which was signed into law on January 8, 2002. This education plan "is the most sweeping reform of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (SESA) since it was enacted in 1965" (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). The plan includes Native American reforms focusing on aiding the repairs and construction for schools on Native American lands. The plan argues for for educational equity and that "the federal government has a special obligation to certain schools . . . that educate Native American children" (Bush, 2001, p. 24).

BACKGROUND OF TAIWAN ABORIGINES

With a population of approximately 23 million, Taiwan is a multi-ethnic country generally classified into four main aboriginal peoples: *Fukinese* (people who immigrated to Taiwan from the Fukine province of China before 1949), *Hakka* (people who migrated from the Kwangtung province of China before 1949), *Mainlander* (people who migrated from China after 1949), and *Taiwan Aborigines*. These four primary ethnic groups can be separated into two larger groups. One is called Han Chinese which included Mainlanders (14 percent), Fukien Taiwanese (74 percent), Hakka Taiwanese (10 percent); the other is named non-Han Austronesians which is made up of indigenous tribes of Taiwan aborigines (making up only 2 percent or approximately 400,000 of the total population) (Kung, 1999).

In this chapter, I am curious about educational policy analysis of Taiwan Aborigines. At first, I try to

interpret the educational background of Taiwan Aborigines from their historical background, political background, and social background. Furthermore, I will probe into the educational policies about Native Taiwanese.

1. Historical Background

Each of the aboriginal tribes speaks a form of Formosan, a member of the Austronesian language family.[3] There are two major migration theories concerning the origin of the Taiwanese aborigines. The first proposes that the aborigines originated from some other location in the Austronesian geographic sphere and thence migrated to and settled Taiwan. The second asserts that Taiwan is the ancestral homeland of the Austronesian peoples (Council of Aboriginal Affairs Executive Yuan, 2001a).

2. Social Background

Taiwan's indigenous people can be separated into eleven different tribes: Tayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Tao, Sao, Gamalan and Pingpu. Having undergone development and transformation for thousands of years, Taiwan's indigenous people have developed a unique history and rich culture, bringing a colorful taste to Taiwan's versatile cultures, see Figure 1.

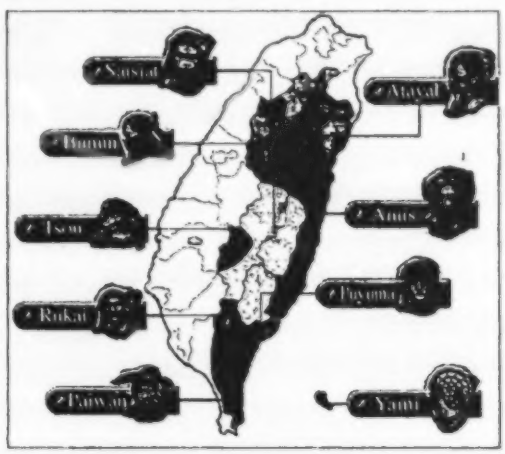

Figure 1. The Distribution of Taiwan Aborigine Nine Main Sub-Races (Council of Aboriginal Affairs Executive Yuan, R.O.C., 2002)

Most Taiwan Aborigines live near the high mountain regions of the island and were subsequently given the name *Shanpao* (meaning ountain people . Due to local and global pressures of industrialization and economic development, a growing number of native Taiwanese choose to leave their rural homelands for better

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economic opportunities in urban centers along the coast. As a result, some 188,784 Taiwan Aborigines currently live in the plains while 213,668 reside in the high mountain regions (Council of Aboriginal Affairs Executive Yuan, 2001c).

3. Political Background

Over the past 400 years, the indigenous Taiwanese have known domination by foreign colonialists. This colonial period can be categorized into four distinct periods (Council of Aboriginal Affairs Executive Yuan, 2001b):

1. Dutch mercantilism imperialist and autocratic colonial rule (1624-1611).
2. Cheng Royalty and the Ch ng Dynasty feudal and aristocratic colonialism (1661-1895).
3. Japanese imperialism (1895-1945).
4. The colonial rule of the Chinese Chiang family warlords and their fascist, imperialist regime (1945-present).

Even today Taiwan aborigines are dominated by the mainstream groups and become the "famous" minorities in Taiwan. With only two percent of the total population, Taiwan aborigines are in a weak position and are often neglected in political and educational issues.

4. Education Policy

Three dramatic milestones occurred in the 1990s regarding government policy toward the indigenous Taiwanese. One is the unprecedented incorporation of various indigenous rights into the Constitutional Amendments in 1992. The other is the government's official recognition of indigenous peoples as *Yuanchumin* (original inhabitants of Taiwan) was given in 1994 instead of the derogatory term—*Shanpao* (mountain people). The third is the establishment of the Council of Aboriginal Affairs in the Taipei City Government and in the Executive Yuan (Branch) in 1996. These new policies are encouraging signs of the recent turning point surrounding aboriginal policy in Taiwan, closely related to the ongoing political liberalization and democratization initiated in the late 1980s (Kung, 1999).

Along this vein, the Taiwan aboriginal educational policies have represented entirely different kinds of hopes from before. The latest educational policy concerned about Taiwan Aborigines is the *Developmental Programs of Taiwan Aborigines* (Executive Yuan, 1998). The key concepts are:

1. To promote the educational quality of aboriginal elementary and junior high school education.
2. To expand the higher educational opportunities of Taiwan Aborigines.
3. To develop continuous education and family education in Taiwan aboriginal communities.
4. To help the Taiwan Aboriginal students learn and maintain their traditional culture.
5. To provide means to develop and maintain Taiwan Aboriginal language.
6. To build up the educational systems of Taiwan Aborigines.
7. To universal the preschool education of Taiwan Aborigines.
8. To foster the special talents of Taiwan Aborigines.
9. To expedite the economic development of tribes and to delete the stigma of their identity.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY ANALYSIS MODEL

Jacky Brine (1995) and Ward Ghory and Robert Sinclair (1997) attempted to analyze the education phenomenon through *equality* of educational opportunity. Mindy Kornhaber and Howard Gardner (2000) and Sydney Harris (1981) used the term *excellence* to probe the educational policy execution. Nina Shokraii Rees (2000) and Dale McDonald (1999) discussed education policies from the perspective of *choice*. An additional ingredient in this educational framework—*efficiency*—has been regarded as a useful method to explore schooling by Marlaine Lockheed (1988) and Susan Poch (1998). Thomas J. Sergiovanni et al. (1992) and Sandra Taylor et al. (1997) attempted to combine all four perspectives of what we are calling our "educational criteria" to confer the success or failure of educational resource allocation.

Drawing from this literature base, this paper examines educational polices by the four criteria mentioned above: equity, efficiency, choice, and excellence. But we discover it is undistributed to discuss these elements unless within the framework of the latest debates about the dialectics between globalization which is stressed by Carnoy (2000) and Kellner (2001), and localization as advocated by Pitchon (Pitchon, 1997) and the World Bank (1999). Furthermore, we also recognize that the leading discourse between education and the capitalist society is through the interplay between neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism (Apple, 2001; Giroux, 2001). After reviewing these contemporary theories, we format an Educational Policy Analysis Model to interpret the possible interactions among different kinds of ideologies, values, and power (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Educational Policy Analysis Model

Equity

Before illustrating the definition of equity, we must clarify the difference between equality and equity. The meaning of equality is the "same status, right, and responsibilities for all the members of a society, group, or family" (Cobuild, 1997, p. 557). Equity is defined as the "quality of being fair and reasonable in a way that gives equal treatment to everyone" (Cobuild, 1997, p. 757). Where equality deals with the overall quantity of individuals, equity also includes the quality of educational opportunity. Because our study focuses on this second perspective, and not just on the quantity of people impacted, we prefer to use the term "equity" for dealing with educational policy.

In John Rawls' renowned book, *The Theory of Justice* (Rawls, 1972), he stresses that the meaning of real justice included two elementary principles. The first is the principle of identity which claims that the allocation of resources is equal to everyone. The second is the principle of difference which affirms the existence of inequality and asks for positive discrimination. Furthermore, Rawls indicated the most effective solution of social problems is what he terms "maximin." Maximim means to focus on helping students who really need educational assistance the most. We consider Rawls' first principle of identity to the definition of equality, and the second principle of difference as more closely associated with the meaning of equity.

James S. Coleman (1990) interpreted equality as the educational opportunity for students to receive equal treatments in regards to access, schooling, and outcome. The landmark case of *Plessy v. Fergusson* in 1892, saw the definition of equality interpreted in yet another fashion, "separate but equal." It was not until the

case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 that "separate but equal" would no longer be the law of the land. The civil rights movement, the *Civil Rights Act*, and Public Law 94-142 cumulatively led to the realization of a more uniform definition of equality in the United States (Urban & Wagoner, 1996 , pp. 300-02). More recently, "Head Start Programs" and "War on Poverty" educational policies were regarded as positive discriminations to help students of cultural disadvantage and deprivation learn at an equal level with their peers (Spring, 1998, pp. 14-17).

Efficiency

Efficiency can be broken into two definitions. One takes a more traditional and bureaucratic standpoint examining how to manage limited human, material, and financial resources; time; and location or the space of educational environments. Yet, we see efficiency from a second definition, one that revolves around how to accomplish equity, choice, and excellence according to our criteria definitions in this paper.

Lockheed urged that the overall educational outputs determine whether the descriptors "internal" or "external" are applied to educational efficiency (Lockheed, 1988). In most cases, Lockheed believes that non-monetary inputs imply effectiveness, while monetary inputs imply efficiency; similarly, non-monetary outputs imply internality and monetary outputs imply externality.

According to James Guthrie (1978), the conventional concept of educational efficiency, adapted from the technical-industrial sector, is inappropriate for public schools. In the technical industrial sector, there is widespread agreement about desired outcomes and profits. Furthermore, it is difficult to measure school efficiency since the influence of outside environmental and socioeconomic factors on achievement is so significant. Efficiency is increasingly linked to issues of decentralization and privatization as these are market-guided signals that lead to more efficient and effective schools (Stromquist, 2001).

Choice

Choice may be regarded as making a decision according to one's own desire and willing. As our third criteria of educational policy, we also define choice as meaning that students should not be treated as mere objects during instructional procedures; educators must share the decision-making power vested in pedagogy, curricula, and school selection with students and their parents. In this definition, choice is not entirely controlled by top-level government officials, principals of schools, and teachers. Furthermore, schools of choice now include a new trend in educational policy that involves various forms of competition and agency. In this light,

the locus of control and decision-making primarily resides with those closest to the schools—students, parents, and local school administrators. This definition patters what Val D. Rust (2001) called the Humanistic Educational Reforms in the United States of the 1960s and 1970s, which were heavily influenced by John Dewey. Some of these humanistic schools included free schools, schools within a school (SWAS), charter schools, magnet schools, home schooling, and other alternative schools.

Although the school-choice movement spread rapidly, little time has been taken by educational researchers to assess whether the claimed benefits of school choice have actually been realized. This study briefly summarizes empirical evidence to date and addresses the following two questions: Who gains from school choice and who loses? Bruce Fuller (1995) indicated that:

1. Choice programs designed to select higher achieving students may shut out lower income families;
2. Choice programs that provide greater cultural continuity between home and school may yield achievement benefits;
3. However, each school's particular ethnic identity may erode progress toward racial integration;
4. School choice does not guarantee greater parental involvement;
5. School choice programs generally have high levels of parent satisfaction;
6. The learning effects of choice schools are inconsistent;
7. Market structures fail to operate in the absence of sufficient information about available educational options; and
8. When public school authorities fail to capitalize on the appealing features of choice schools—smaller enrollments, enthusiastic and experienced teachers, and distinct curricular identities—school choice will do little to diversify enrollments.

Excellence

The concept of excellence can be interpreted in a number of ways. Since the time of ancient Greece, there has been difficulty in defining and agreeing on what constitutes "the good." However, according to Harris, it is possible to recognize human excellence from a number of perspectives including the physical, mental, moral, and social dimensions. Despite existing philosophical discrepancies, there is a need for a sound understanding of how human beings can acquire and develop educational excellence (Harris, 1981). Overall, Harris' definition of excellence is vague. We argue for a more focused definition of excellence, one which emphasizes student learning and curriculum relevance to the economic, social, and cultural demands of local

and global forces.

Many people equate educational excellence to a high quality of schooling, or acceptance into an elite institution of learning. Reality shows that only a relative few number of students will ever have the opportunity to attend elite institutions. Should excellence, therefore, be related to a relatively small number of institutions or an equally small number of students who qualify to attend those institutions? Under this definition, can the present school systems in Taiwan and the United States be regarded as implementing excellence?

In 1981, Terrell Bell and David Gardner, along with several teachers, parents, and professors, established the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE). After two years of research, data collection, and discussion, the NCEE compiled the renowned *A Nation at Risk* report in 1983. The results of this report are astounding regarding education in the United States:

> Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world. This report is concerned with only one of the many causes and dimensions of the problem, but it is the one that undergirds American prosperity, security, and civility. We report to the American people that while we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur—others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments. (NCEE 1983)

The NCEE highlighted the low achievement of American students, high rate of student dropout, lack of curriculum arrangement, and the overall low quality of teaching (Urban & Wagoner, 1996). Therefore, the education reform of back-to-the-basic curriculum requests to stress the importance of basic disciplines, a national standard curricula, and certification of teachers.

But the kind of educational reforms suggested in *A Nation at Risk* were initially criticized as paying too much attention on basic disciplines and standard examinations, issues perceived as ultimately leading the educational system back to a teacher-centered instruction and ignoring students' cognate and critical thinking skills. Robert Stake said that high quality performance in trivial and mundane tasks could not be considered as excellence. Furthermore, he stressed that excellence did not equate to elitism but should strive to accommodate student reasoning, problem solving, application, and interpretation (Sergiovanni et al., 1992, p. 14). Howard

Gardner's theory of multiple intelligence supports Stake's definition of educational excellence (Gardner, 2000).

Globalization

Globalization has been and continues to be defined in many ways. Patricia Pitchon defines globalization as a means of providing generic communications without culturally specific content; it refers to editing a document before translating it (Pitchon, 1997). Nicholas C. Burbules and Carlos A. Torres (2000) provide several definitions of globalization around certain dualities. One definition argues that globalization includes two primary forces at work, globalization from above (a process effecting elites within and across national contexts) and globalization from below (drawing from the masses of society). A second definition looks at the conflicts globalization breads between the global and the local; between the economic and the cultural; and homogenized norms and culture (which is sometimes interpreted as Western or American). At the very least a definition of globalization should include economic, political, and cultural terms (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000). The discourse of globalization can be articulated with both modern and postmodern theories because we are currently involved in an interregnum period between an aging modern and an emerging postmodern era (Best & Kellner, 1991; Stromquist & Monkman, 2000).

For some theorists, globalization is seen as a process of standardization in which a globalized media and consumer culture circulates the globe creating sameness and homogeneity everywhere, thus bringing to light the bland and boring universality and massification in the modern project. Postmodernists champion, by contrast, the local, diversity, difference, and heterogeneity, and sometimes claim that globalization itself produces hybridity and multiplicity, arguing that global culture makes possible unique appropriations and developments all over the world with new forms of hybrid syntheses of the global and the local, thus proliferating difference and heterogeneity (Hall, 1986).

Globalization also offers a mix of opportunities and risks. Expanded markets and the spread of technology can lead to higher productivity and improved living standards. But they can also lead to instability and undesired changes: fear of job loss due to the influx of foreign imports, financial instability due to volatile foreign capital flows, and threats to the global environment (Kellner, 2001).

Localization

Localization is the process of adapting not only language, but also graphics, technology and any other communications media to the culture and characteristics of a region or country (Asia, 2001). Localization refers to an emphasis on traditional cultures, knowledge, traditions, and indigenous languages. It is often in direct opposition to the imposing forces of globalization. The term localization can also be defined as modifying a translation to fit a local culture's patterns of language usage. For example, a training manual being shipped to Argentina might be published in a special Argentinean Spanish edition. A localized manual is vernacular; it speaks to the audience in a familiar style, with local idioms (Bank, 1999).

Localization can take the form of a general demand for broader popular participation in politics such as the democracy movements in Poland and Brazil in the 1980s, the Republic of Korea in the 1990s, and Indonesia today. Or it can take the form of demands for greater local autonomy, which may lead to decentralization or official recognition of a local cultural identity, as in Canada, Spain, and Uganda. Either way, localization can be a mixed blessing.

New Right

When we talked about the educational reforms, we prefer to interpret the tendency into two different extremes, the Right and the Left. Traditionally, we regarded the right as the synonym of conservatism, middle class, majority, and the dominant group. In opposition to the Right, the Left focused on the radicalism, critical ideology, minority, and the oppressed.

As time goes passes, the Right and the Left evolve into different forms which we call New Right and New Left. The New Right maintains is predominantly based on the ideas represented in the dominating groups, but is separated into two sub-tendencies. The first one is Neo-Liberals which pays all of its attention on market economics and stresses the influence of globalization. Following this vein, educational reforms like school vouchers, magnet schools, charter schools, national curriculum, national tests, and school choice emerged. The second one is Neo-conservative which emphasizes traditional values and moral education.

Michael Apple reminds us that neoliberals are the most powerful element within the alliance supporting conservative modernization, and efficiency and an "ethic" of cost-benefit analysis are the dominant norms (Apple, 2001). Furthermore, he stresses that the idea of the "consumer" is crucial when we want to discuss educational reforms, and the idea of "consumer choice" is the guarantor of democracy. Furthermore, he said the metaphor of the consumer and the supermarket are actually opposites here, and markets ultimately will distribute resources efficiently and fairly according to effort (Apple, 2001, pp. 43-44).

Talking about neoconservatism, he focused on the return to a "common culture," making schools more efficient and more responsive to the private sector (2001, p.35). That the neoconservative emphasis on the return to traditional values and "morality" has struck a responsive chord with mainstream society is reflected in the fact that among the best-selling books in the nation during the past decade was William Benett's *The book of Virtues* . Benett's book aims at providing "moral tales" for children to "restore" a commitment to "traditional virtues" such as patriotism, honesty, moral character, and entrepreneurial spirit . Neoconservatives lament the "decline" of the traditional curriculum and of the history, literature, and values it is said to have represented (Apple, 2001, p. 48).

New Left

Domination, exploitation, and ideology critique of Marxism are key issues associated with the Left. Neo-Marxism can be discussed from two perspectives: one is derived from Louis Althuser (1971) and the other from Antonio Gramsci (Morrow & Torres, 1995, p. 371). The appeal of an ideological state apparatus by Althuser is regarded as structuralist Marxism which follows Marx's critique of the base/superstructure model and focuses its attention primarily on social reproduction. The crucial issue from Gramsci's theory is cultural hegemony which is attributed into cultural Marxism (Gramsci, 1999). The contemporary sociology of education (i.e., critical theory, cultural studies, and critical pedagogy) is influenced by Marxism and Neo-Marxism and constitutes what is known as the New Left.

Critical theory refers to the legacy of theoretical work developed by certain members of what

can loosely be described as "the Frankfurt School." Henry A. Giroux reminded us that critical theory refers to the nature of a self-conscious critique and to the need to develop a discourse of social transformation and emancipation that does not cling dogmatically to its own doctrinal assumption especially in relation to culture and deep psychology (Giroux, 2001, pp. 7-8).

British cultural studies, instituted in England by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies, emerged in the 1960s as a movement of approaching culture from critical and multidisciplinary perspectives. Cultural studies thus operate with a transdisciplinary conception that draws on social theory, economics, politics, history, communication studies, literacy and cultural theory, philosophy, and other theoretical discourses (Kellner, 1995).

The most recognized leader of critical pedagogy is Paulo Freire who devoted the majority of his life to educate illiterate and oppressed adults. His most influential concept consisted of the phrase "Not only teach them a word, but a world" (Freire, 2001, p. 86). He also has termed the pedagogy of the oppressed, a pedagogy which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in their incessant struggle, to regain their humanity. Freire stressed that this does not necessarily mean that the oppressed are unaware that they are downtrodden. But their perception of themselves as oppressed is impaired by their submission to the reality of oppression (2001, pp. 45-48). Giroux urged us to think about the importance of how to make education meaningful by making it critical, and how to make it critical so as to make it emancipatory (Giroux, 2001).

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

American Indian and Taiwan Aboriginal education represent two cases where educational reform programs can be analyzed using the criteria of educational policy model. In this section we compare the major components of both marginalized groups in a juxtaposed manner broken down by the four criteria of educational policy (see Table II). It should be noted that several educational programs may fit into one or more criteria of our model. After providing this content summary, we then compare similarities between the two groups (Table III). First, we examine similarities according to historical background and time frame. We conclude by probing common themes from each group

in relation to the eight criteria of the educational policy model.

Table II. Comparing Educational Programs Using the Four Criteria of Educational Policy

	Taiwan Aborigines	***American Indians***
Equity	• Promote the educational quality of aboriginal elementary and junior high school • Expand the higher educational opportunities of Taiwan Aborigines • Universalize the preschool education of Taiwan Aborigines • Develop continuous education and family education in Taiwan aboriginal communities	• Reducing poverty and substance abuse • Government has obligation to assist in education of Native Americans
Efficiency	• Build up the educational systems of Taiwan Aborigines	• Bush's *No Child Left Behind* focuses on providing finances for constructing new schools and maintaining existing ones • Increasing high school completion and postsecondary attendance rates
Choice	• Build up the educational systems of Taiwan Aborigines	• Allows students able to make their own decisions regarding applicable issues • Permit local tribes to establish on curriculum including language of instruction • American Indian Parents are encouraged to participate in federal public schools
Excellence	• Foster the special talents of Taiwan Aborigines	• Improving reading and mathematics • Improving science education • Creating strong, safe, and drug-free school environments • Expanding educational technology

Table III. Comparing Implicit and Explicit Forces

	Taiwan Aborigines	*American Indians*
Localization	• Invigorate Taiwan Aboriginal language • Assist Taiwan Aboriginal students in learning their own traditional culture	• Autonomy to run and operate their own schools • Emphasis on indigenous cultures, languages, and religions
Globalization	• Encourage and help aboriginal students go abroad for doctoral degree to serve for their own race.	• Many American Indians have chosen to join the dominant group • *Deculturalization*: loss of indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions
New Left	• Help Taiwan Aboriginal students learn their own traditional culture • Build up the educational systems of Taiwan Aborigines	• Recognize the importance for preserving indigenous knowledge, languages, and cultures • Allow American Indians the freedom to worship deity according to their own dictates • Emphasis on bilingualism and biculturalism
New Right	• Expedite the economic development of aboriginal tribes • Foster the special talents of Taiwan Aborigines	• Emphasis on traditional values and morals

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NOTES

[1] According to E. M. Greico and R. C. Cassidy, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 2001), "American Indian and Alaska Native" refers to people having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America), and who maintain tribal affiliation or community attachment. It includes people who indicated their race or races by marking this category or writing in their principal or enrolled tribe, such as Sioux, Chippewa, or Navajo.

[2] The majority of Native Americans declared only one race in the 2000 Census. Those who chose Native American and Alaska Native in combination with one or more other races was an additional 1,643,345 people, bringing the American Indians and Alaska Natives living in the United States to 4,119,301 in 2000 (or roughly 1.5 percent of the U.S. total population).

We have chosen to exclude Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders from this study, though they

included an additional 398,835 people (0.1 percent of the U.S. total population) who declared one race in the 2000 Census and 475,579 Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders in combination with one or more other races, bringing the living in the United States to 874,414 in 2000 (or approximately 0.3 percent of the U.S. total population), E. M. Greico and R. C. Cassidy, *Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

[3] The Austronesian language family, formerly known as the Malayo-Polynesian languages, has over 700 distinct languages and is spoken from Madagascar to Easter Island, and Hawaii to New Zealand. Today some 270 million people speak at least one Austronesian language

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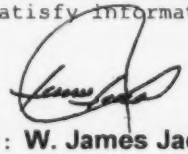

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